2: Lee T-5 (1855-1858) 1957
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doubt whether there is a race on the face of the whole earth that equals the Comanches. They will lie along the sides of their horses, while under full speed, directing their course at the same time and discharging arrows from under their necks with deadly effect, in a manner astonishing to witness.

If a deer is captured, he brings it in on his horse, throws it to the women whose business is to dress and cook it. If he kills a mustang or a buffalo, he rides into the village and informs his squaw where the carcass may be found, who straightway mounts and goes out in search of it—skins it —cuts the flesh into strips, and returns.

While the men are thus indolent, the women are remarkable for their industry. Besides attending to the menial duties of the camp, working in the fields during the planting and harvesting seasons, they perform extraordinary labors in preparing buffalo hides and bringing them into the soft and pliant condition in which we see them. To do this properly requires about six weeks, and the process may be new to many of my readers.

When the hide is first brought in green, it is placed upon a log so hewed that it presents a flat surface, perhaps a foot in width. With an instrument similar to a common adze, the squaws cut away all the flesh and part of the bulkiest portions of the hide, until the whole presents a uniform thickness. This is a long and tedious operation. They are then stretched upon frames, and rubbed with a kind of pumice stone until the surface becomes furzy. If it should dry in this state, however, it would be hard, stiff and unpliant. To avoid this, they use a preparation composed of basswood bark pounded very fine and mixed with the brains of the deer or buffalo, which is applied day after day until the skin is thoroughly saturated, when it is soft and flexible.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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chunk being made up into one roll of meat. Now the butcher cut up through the ventral to remove the entrails, separating the ribs from the sternum. Slicing between the middle ribs, he next took their free ends in both hands and pulled up and outward to break the rib steaks off from the spine. At last, the bare spine with rump and head was all that remained; the tail had been skinned out with the hide. The meat was bagged in the hides, loaded on the pack horses, and all was ready to be toted back to the main camp for further processing.

Comanche hunters who were out butchering alone had their buffalo horses trained to stand by as sentinels. Butchering in a hurry is an intense business and a man cannot very well keep a close lookout for danger. But he could give a quick glance to his horse's ears. His horse had learned to "wave" his ears alternately if another buffalo or coyote was close. If it was a man, he pitched both ears forward. "Thus many lives were saved," says White Wolf.

Back in the camp, the men's work was done for the time being. While the women turned to, the bucks relaxed in feasting and recounting their exploits. The women were slicing the meat into very thin filets which were hung over the racks for a quick sun-drying. Hides were pegged out on the ground, flesh side up, so that they could be fleshed and scraped for later tanning.

As soon as the women caught up with their work, another kill was made. This procedure continued until enough meat and skins were obtained and cold weather drove the Indians to their winter camp, or until there were no more buffalo.

Buffalo were so plentiful in the Southern Plains that the Comanches rarely bothered to fortify themselves for the communal hunt by making medicine. There were times, nevertheless, when the wandering herds could not be found. Then the "chief," or hunt leader, went with his pipe to a medicine man who had power. Offering his smoke, he asked that the hunt ritual be performed. His wish would be granted, but unfortunately we do not have the details of the kind of medicine that was made. Presumably it was similar to the magic antelope surround described in the next chapter.

The horned toad was also believed to be a help in locating the buffalo, for when asked the question, "he will always run in the

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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224 direction of buffalo." That is why he is called *kusetemini*, "asking
825 about the buffalo." Ravens also were buffalo pointers in Comanche
787 belief. They like to eat carrion and were always following the herds to eat the bugs on their hides. When a raven circled over the camp four times, dipping his head and cawing, "he was telling The People where the herd is; he will fly off and show the way."[42]

224 Toward the end of or soon after the hunt, a man and wife of re-
796 spectable family who were noted for their goodness and purity were likely to give a Buffalo Tongue Dance or feast. Men, women, and the older unmarried adolescents who had participated in the hunt were encouraged to attend. The ceremony began early in the morning and ended with the meal at midday. A fire was built outside the tipi and the buffalo tongues were roasted over the coals. When the meat was done, the men were asked to seat themselves in a semicircle about the fire. The women took a position about twenty steps from the opening of the circle. The host or a leading medicine man lighted the pipe. He blew the first puff of smoke toward the sun, the second toward the earth, and one in each of the four directions. The pipe was then passed to the other men who smoked likewise. This was an oath by which the smoker bound himself to speak truthfully.

After all had smoked, a woman was called upon to come forward and serve the tongue. Any man who had had illicit sexual relations with her called out, "no, no," and she returned to her place. If everyone remained quiet, she came forward and served the tongue to the assembled group amid much applause and shrill cries of "li-li-li-li" from all the women present. No dancing or singing accompanied the ceremony.[43]

224 This little act was lifted bodily from the Sun Dance complex of
796 other Plains Indians. A Cheyenne Sun Dance giver must collect hun-
171 dreds of buffalo tongues to distribute to the Sun Dance officers and participants. The Crow ritual called for an "absolutely virtuous woman to serve as Tree-notcher, one who had been purchased in marriage and had been scrupulously chaste."[44] Virtue was tested in a
[837] manner similar to that just described. Among Indians like the Crows

[42] Informant: Post Oak Jim.

[43] Informants: Kills Something; Face Wrinkling Like Getting Old. Other informants were aware of this ceremony.

[44] R. H. Lowie. *The Crow Indians*, 312.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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that had been built up when horses were rare were such that horses remained almost wholely prestige tokens and transport bearers. 262

Great numbers of cattle obtained from raids on Mexican and Texas settlements were also eaten, especially in later years. The majority were butchered and consumed by the raiders wherever they were found, or as soon as the raider felt himself at a distance safe from attack by the whites. The Comanches made no attempt to herd them. Many head of stolen cattle were not butchered, but went to New Mexican traders in return for ornaments, arrows, kettles, and other articles. Although the Comanches thought beef was poor eating when buffalo was to be had, nowadays an old Comanche likes to sink his teeth into mediocre beef with plenty of fat as the nearest thing to the buffalo he loved.

Dog meat was regarded as an almost sacred dish by the Sioux, and to the Cheyennes "A nice fat, boiled puppy is just like a turkey on Thanksgiving to you white people."[2] But the Comanches did not eat dog meat. Medicine Woman says it is because "Once, when the people moved, they left an old, old lady in camp with a dog. Several weeks later when the people returned to the site, they found that the dog had killed the woman and had consumed most of her body. Henceforth the Comanches refused dog meat, since dogs ate human flesh."[3] There is a deeper reason, however. Dog is Coyote's cousin, and Coyote is tabu. He is the Trickster of Comanche and Shoshone mythology—a demi-god. Although coyotes were occasionally hunted for their furs, they were never eaten or wantonly killed. Post Oak Jim shot one for the fun of it once when out on a cattle raid. Came a cyclone, and Jim thought his horse was spinning on its head; it rained all night, and in the morning it was so cold they nearly froze. "That coyote's mother probably made medicine," said Jim. "Coyote has medicine. If we harm one, it will get back on us some way." 262 776 825

The same with dogs. Post Oak Jim killed a dog once, and ever after he thinks he had bad luck with his children. They all got sick and died. In 1933 Howard White Wolf had a dozen curs on his place. He did not dare to kill them himself, but he asked a member of the Santa Fé Laboratory of Anthropology group to do it for him. White 776 825

[2] E. A. Hoebel, Cheyenne Field Notes (unpublished).
[3] Informant: Medicine Woman.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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men are immune to dog medicine—or at least White Wolf was willing to let a white chance it! As they feel thus about dogs, it is hardly surprising that the Comanches will not eat them.

Although wild fowl and fish were plentiful, they were not eaten except when food was very scarce, for fish were tabu, and it was common belief that those who ate the turkey would become cowardly and run from their enemies just as the turkey flees from his pursuers. Frogs and swine were also tabu; frogs because, like fish, they were water animals, and swine because they were associated with mud and water. The Comanches, if they knew it, would eat nothing cooked with hog lard.

The Comanches did not eat human flesh. The neighboring Tonkawas, whom the Comanches found in Texas, were loathed and detested because of their cannibalistic practices. The fact of cannibalism is the chief rationalization used by the Comanches in explaining their implacable enmity for the Tonkawas. Like many moral excuses for war, this one, too, seems to come after the fact, since prior to the nineteenth century, when the Tonkawas were busy fighting the Apaches, the Comanches got on well enough with them.[4] It is quite probable that the Comanches themselves were not at all unused to the idea of cannibalism in the early days of their southward migration. That some people will turn cannibal in starvation times is accepted by the Shoshones, although cannibals were reputedly hanged because once having tasted human flesh they acquired an insatiable appetite.[5] Among the Comanches, however, the very idea that one of them might under stress eat another person was vigorously repulsed.

In late winter food sometimes became scarce; neither buffalo, deer, antelope, nor elk could be obtained. The shortages were more likely to occur in February and March, the season designated by a term meaning "when the babies cry for food."[6] When food became scarce, a Comanche ate almost anything—the tabued fish and fowl, rabbits, terrapins, turtles, snakes, skunks, rats, lizards, grasshoppers, meats which were no longer fresh, roots, and bark.

In the preparation of food, meat was generally cooked by holding

[4] H. E. Bolton, "Tonkawa," in Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 783.

[5] Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, Appendix A, 141.

[6] Informant: Medicine Woman.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Spirit created man, the earth shook and trembled and said unto the Great Spirit, "How can I feed the vast multitudes of man that will issue from the first created?" And the Great Spirit replied, "We will divide the maintenance of man; you will feed man during the daytime with all that you produce, while when the night will come, I will send my sleep upon man, and he will rest, and he will be fed by me with the peace of slumber, and he will awake refreshed in the morning."

The Great Spirit took eight parts to form man: the body from the earth, the bones from the stones, the blood from the dew, the eyes from the depth of the clear water, the beauty from his own image, the light of the eyes from the sun, the thoughts from the waterfalls, the breath from the wind, and the strength from the storms. The first man was of such gigantic size that his head reached the skies and his eyes looked from one end of the earth to the other, but menial labor and unwholesome food diminished his size and made him vulnerable.

After the Great Spirit had created man, he ordered all of the inhabitants of the spirit world to go and prostrate themselves before man as recognition that man was the greatest of the Great Spirit's creations. All obeyed the command except one, who as a result of his failure to do so was cast out from the spirit world and made to roam around on earth. To seek revenge, this demon took refuge in the tooth of the serpent, the fang of the spider, the legs of the centipede, and in other poisonous animals, insects, and reptiles to torment and harm man on earth at every opportunity.[7]

Inasmuch as the Shoshones and other tribes of the Great Basin had some conception of an otiose Supreme Being, who in the minds of some was equated with Wolf, the big brother of Coyote, it is not unreasonable to accept the basic validity of these early nineteenth-century descriptions of Comanche beliefs in a Great Spirit. Wolf was wholly beneficent; his acts of original creation made all things perfect and good. Coyote, the mischievous Til Eulenspiegel of Shoshonean folklore, was the spoiler of all things, however. His was the role

[6] Neighbors, "The Naüni or Comanches of Texas," *loc. cit.*, 127.

[7] Narrated by Herman Lehmann, Comanche captive, who became a respected warrior and member of the tribe. Jonathan H. Jones, *A Condensed History of the Apache and Comanche Indian Tribes*, 199–200.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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Cosmogony and Folk Beliefs

The Comanches had great fear of thunder and lightning. It gave them no power and was dangerous in a way that the Sun, Earth, and Moon were not. It was malicious and wantonly prone to tease mankind. "In a thunderstorm you have to remain quiet; you must not say anything to thunder and lightning, as it has no pity." 776 821

They were afraid, but they were Comanches and they did not like to be pushed around. So every now and then one of them got defiant.

« « « I was out riding once when a rainstorm came up. I got off my horse and got down among some weeds and put my head down. The thunder was making noise all around. Finally I decided it was making fun of me—lightning and thunder likes to make fun of someone—so I got on my horse and made a war whoop in defiance. Then I ran away. The lightning struck right near me. I got away, but thunder and lightning has no pity. » » »

This was Post Oak Jim's personal experience. He reverted to the same theme later on. His lesson impressed him greatly, but it was reinforced by what happened to one of his friends.

« « « Thunder and lightning has no pity for them who talk back. We were out in a bunch branding. When we were eating our breakfast, a thunder shower came up. A tough guy, who was with us, went out and shot at the lightning with his gun to show that he was not afraid. The lightning struck and killed him. » » »

A belief of more recent days is not to look in a mirror when it thunders. The lightning may look in, too, and strike you.

Like most prairie tribes, the Comanches greatly revered the buffalo. It has been reported that the dry buffalo head was their idol. Before the entrance of a sweat-lodge there was likely to be a buffalo skull. Out on the prairie might be seen the skulls of buffalo turned so as to face the main camp, the idea being that the guardian spirit would direct the herd to move in the direction the skulls were facing. 776 825

[14] Mooney, "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," *loc. cit.*, 968–69.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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The Comanches

776 825 Sometimes when they were ceremoniously smoking, after puffs had been blown to the Great Spirit, Sun, and Earth, a puff was blown to a near-by buffalo skull with a prayer that it provide the people with meat to eat and skins for their lodges and clothing. At times they prayed to the buffalo in general to range where hunting would be good.

Sometimes buffalo talked to a person. Although in Cheyenne mythology it was only the buffalo male that talked, in Comanche mythology it could be either male or female, old or young. A buffalo might turn into a human being and through its supernatural power reveal the location of the herd to the people or otherwise perform good deeds. A Comanche story which has survived not only is interesting but explains how the guardian spirits functioned through the medium of the buffalo.

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« « « Once when a party of Comanches went on a buffalo hunt, they were accompanied by a young boy. He was a handsome child, and his family, who were well-to-do, dressed him in the finest regalia and provided him with the best of equipment and a swift horse. When the hunters charged and scattered the herd, the boy selected and followed a small group which contained a beautiful young calf. The boy selected this buffalo for his kill. His first arrow hit beneath the lowest rib. He shot again, and again his arrow found its mark, but the buffalo did not fall. The boy decided to retrieve his arrows, but the buffalo ran into a stream and stopped in the middle of it. The boy would not go into the water because he did not wish to spoil his fine clothes, so he abandoned the chase.

Ordinarily a buffalo shot as this one had been would die, but through its supernatural power the young buffalo maintained life, as it had fallen in love with the boy. It rejoined the herd and in time gave birth to a calf. The boy by means of the two arrows was father of the calf. The other members of the herd would not play or associate with the calf. The calf noticed that the other calves stood around their mothers and fathers, and he wondered about his father. When he asked his mother about his father, she explained to him that his father was "one of those who eats us, and it was I who desired that he be your father." The calf then insisted on seeing him, even after

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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his mother warned that they would be killed should they upon the long journey meet scouts from his father's people. They traveled by night, and after many days came in sight of the village. The mother told the calf to do as she did. She rolled herself about on the ground, and there stood a woman dressed in a buffalo-robe with peg holes or eyelets about the edges. The calf rolled on the ground and became a handsome boy, wrapped in a beautiful yellow calf robe. Then the woman told the boy to go forward to the center of the village; there he would find his father and his relatives in his tent. The boy found everything just as his mother had said, and told his father his story. His father remembered the incident, and asked for the boy's mother. They went for her, and the father said that both were to live in his house. The woman returned the two arrows to the father and cautioned him not to drink from any stream except as she directed.

The people in the village were starving. As soon as the buffalo woman learned of this, she took a piece of dry meat and fat and gave it to the man. Although the portion was small, he satisfied his appetite without consuming it all, and passed the remainder to another. When they had all eaten their fill, a portion of the dry meat still remained. When the father again spoke to the buffalo woman about the plight of the tribe, she directed every family to pack a parfleche as if it were full of dry meat. When morning came the parfleches were full of dry meat. After they had again eaten, she directed them to break camp and follow her. She led them to a herd of buffalo, and they made a rich killing. They were aware that the strange woman was the cause of their success; also they noticed that neither she nor the calf boy ever ate.

Some time had passed, and the Comanches were prosperous. One day the father of the buffalo calf, while traveling across the prairies, became very thirsty. He remembered the warning given him by the woman, but thought he would merely wet his mouth. As he did so, there occurred a great confusion in the camp, and the people saw the woman and the boy, who had been instantly transformed into a buffalo cow and calf, fleeing from the camp. The father was very sad, for the woman had made him very prosperous through her supernatural power. Likewise, the people were sad, for they had learned to love the buffalo woman and the calf-boy."[15] » » »

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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The coyote was regarded by the Comanches as a brother, who often warned those who possessed power to speak and understand its language, of impending trouble. "Coyote medicine was for knowing things ahead or in the future."

When Skinny and Wrinkled was staying with an old man north of Medicine Park, Oklahoma, the old fellow asked him one night, "Well, have you heard from our friend yet?" Skinny and Wrinkled had heard nothing. The old man admonished him, "Well, you better listen hard now. I believe he is coming around pretty soon."

Not long after, they were talking one night when the dogs began to bark. The old man told Skinny and Wrinkled to shut them up. "I believe there's our friend."

Sure enough, there was a coyote howling.

"I could not interpret what he was saying, but the old man could."

"You better start saving up your bread," was his version of the message. "He says there is going to be a hard winter this year. We aren't going to have much to eat."

That is the way it was, according to Skinny and Wrinkled. The winter before, the Comanches had more flour than they knew what to do with. That winter there were hardly enough rations to give them what was due them.

The coyote also predicted good fortune. One night a coyote howled, and at breakfast the mother of Skinny and Wrinkled said it was telling the tribe that they were all going to get a lot of money soon. Her husband, who was quite a skeptic, laughed and said, "How do you know?"

She insisted, however, and warned, "You wait and see. If the old man talks again before the week is out, it sure is coming true."

On Friday they heard him again. The very next day there were checks for $180 each at the agency for every member of the tribe.[16]

If, when the Indians were on a journey, a coyote jumped up before them, looked at them, and barked or howled, they would likely change their course and travel no farther in that direction that day. A friendly spirit in the form of a wolf was warning them of danger,

[15] Gene Weltfish, "The Man Who Married a Buffalo Wife, A Comanche Story," *Caddoan Texts* (*Publications* of the American Ethnological Society, XVII), 218–23.

[16] Informant: Yellowfish.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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and they must heed the warning. The enemy was generally found just where the coyote told them.

Eagles possessed power in matters concerning war. Because of this power their feathers were attached to shields, worn tied in the hair, and during the later period they were placed on the war bonnet. Owing to the protective power of the bird, those wearing the feathers believed that they would not be hit by either bullets or arrows.[17] When eagle feathers were attached to the shield, it could not be pierced by either bullets or arrows. The Comanches secured a part of their feathers by taking young eagles from their nests and keeping them in captivity. (Young eagles were easily kept by tethering them by the legs to a pin driven in the ground.) After the eagles had reached full size, they pulled out the tail feathers. War whistles were made from wing bones of eagles.

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The deer had much power which might be used for good or evil. It had the power to cause or cure disease. It could say to its favorite: "Of all things on this earth that step on the ground, there is nothing that beats me in running. By that save yourself in time of trouble." At times it was a helper in love affairs. Possibly because the elk had great vitality and was hard to kill, it was credited with having great strength which could be transmitted to those whose guardian spirit it happened to be. The bear possessed power to cure wounds. The skunk possessed great power. Doctors used its hide to hold their medicine. Men tied its tail to their horses' tails in war. For a member of a war party to kill and skin a skunk while on the way to attack was likely to nullify some of the most powerful war medicine.[18] The roadrunner had the power to reinvigorate and give speed, since it was a speedy bird. The owl was unpopular, for it brought bad news, but the Comanches never shrank nearly so much with fear and horror at the sound of its hoot as did the Kiowas. The wolf gave power to walk barefoot on the cold snow. Medicine men who had this power painted the flesh between their toes red like that of the wolf. And if a person would howl like a wolf before eating red haws, there was no danger of foundering on them.

In like manner, in an ever lessening degree, practically all animals

[17] *Ibid.*

[18] This was the reason attributed by the leader for the failure at Adobe Walls.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
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776 and insects were attributed certain powers by someone. One of the
825 very few animals known to the Comanches which never gave supernatural power was the horse. Although of extreme economic value, horses had no place in the ceremonial life of the tribe; nor did they ever appear in visions or significant dreams except as incidental details. This was also true of the dog. It would seem that the dog and horse, as everyday parts of the Comanche household, were too profane to be thought of as power givers. Man had control of them. Givers of power had to be outside his realm of dominance.

776 Just as animals, birds, and insects might be guardian spirits, so
823 was any unusual phenomenon of nature likely to be the abiding place of a spirit. Some of these places, because of the extraordinary power of the spirit abiding within, became rather famous among the Comanches. One such place is Medicine Mounds.

Medicine Mounds are a line of rounded hills in Hardman County, Texas, between the Pease and the Red rivers. They are rather conspicuous, the cones rising about 350 feet above the surrounding plain. Flanking them to the west is a gully-washed scar of an ancient buffalo trail. On the top of the highest of the four mounds is a flat cap rock, a protector against erosion. It was believed by the Comanches to be the dwelling place of a powerful and benevolent spirit.

A Comanche medicine man first discovered its great power when once his band came to hunt in the vicinity of the mounds. He had a young and beautiful daughter who was ill of fever and was growing weaker day by day. Her father had sucked worms and evil spirits out of many a brave and many a squaw, had chanted away the pains of many a girl, and had smoked the weakness from many a boy, but he could not cure his own daughter. He had rattled his gourd all night long while he prayed and chanted. From his medicine bundle he had prepared cures, while the moon was dark and while it was full. He had mixed and tried his formulae in every way he knew. He had consulted other medicine men. But all without results. One morning he came out of his tipi and in despair was gazing silently into the distance when suddenly his eyes came to rest on the rock-capped peak of the highest mound. Here was a powerful spirit that could help him, he thought. So without touching water or food, he went apart to pray and fast until the spirit should send him a revelation. At length

5: Carlson & Jones E, N-4, 5 (1933)1939
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824 278 757 to the informant) and boiled, the brew being used both externally and internally. The stems of a sneezeweed (*Helenium autumnale*) were soaked in water, and the body was bathed with this liquid. As a cure for colds the bark of the sumac (*Rhus trilobata*) was chewed and the juice swallowed.

A few miscellaneous remedies remain to be described.[4] The leaves of snakeweed (*Gutierrezia sarothrae*) were mixed with some other substance (unknown to the informant) as a remedy for whooping cough, and the roots of the nightshade (*Solanum sp.*) were boiled and the decoction prescribed as a general tonic, particularly in cases of tuberculosis. An infusion for reducing swellings was made from the red false mallow (*Malvastrum coccineum*) steeped in water. The tribes of the Missouri River region employed this plant in a similar manner (7, p. 103). Their practice was to chew the roots and apply [752] them to inflamed sores and wounds as a cooling and healing salve. The mucilaginous properties of the plant probably account for its use in this way. The roots of the dotted button snakeroot (*Liatris punctata*) were chewed and the juice swallowed as a cure for swollen testes. The leaves of the pecan (*Carya illinoensis*) or of the walnut (*Juglans nigra*), ground and rubbed on the affected part, were thought efficacious for ringworm.

824 411 439 The Comanche used the branches of the Osage orange (*Maclura pomifera*) in the manufacture of bows. This was the preferred wood for the making of bows throughout most of the Plains region. Since the Osage orange occurs in only a limited area, from southern Missouri to northern Texas, its wood became a valuable trade article. There are accounts telling of the great demand for it among tribes as far north as the Arikara and the Blackfoot and as far west as the Pueblos. John D. Hunter, who spent many years as a captive among the Indians of the Arkansas and Missouri country, says of the Osage orange (11, p. 173):

[825 752] [4] Two nonvegetal Comanche medicines were also collected. Although these are not pertinent to a discussion of plant uses, they may be recorded briefly. One is the nest of some nondomestic bee (Comanche: *tipinatsu*), composed of a gummy substance which gives off a pungent odor when heated. The nest was placed on the fire; its fumes, inhaled by one who was unconscious, were said to revive the person quickly. The other medicine is a white chalky mineral, apparently fossil bones (Comanche: *tsoβit'sitsuni*), which was obtained from deposits and used in treating sprains and fractures. The Comanche considered [776] this mineral to be the bones of Piamupits, a supernatural being.

192 [262] *squeeze juice out*; a soup was made of juice from mesquite pods); naninasu?aitĪ *taboo against mentioning the name of a dead person*; niepI *tornado, a mythical big red bat*; wĭ·yu? *owl*; wo?anacu?U *ragweed (back-bone medicine)* woinU *flute* (Applied now to the modern flute); yu?ane·? *bull-roarer* (Used by medicine-men and in peyote ceremonies).

825 Especially noteworthy in Comanche is a well-defined pattern of synonymous animal terms which figure prominently in stories, myths and songs. Their abundance in the language indicates a knowledge of and interest in animal life which may in part be a relic of an earlier Shoshonean cultural tradition. Also, animal names were frequently used in Comanche personal names and the strong taboo on using words associated with a dead person's name may have resulted in the creation of new metonymical terms which then became established in the language. These synonymous animal names are frequently descriptive or they may reflect a folk belief or attitude toward the animal in question. A list of these various terms for a number of familiar animals follows:

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Bear: parua?; wasape?; wĭra?;[137] ?ohamukwe?ya·hr *something yellow [feces] smeared on his nose*; piarähpanakatĪ *has big soles*; pihĭsoyo? *hair hanging down*; tu·piarai? *black big anus*.

Coyote: ce·na?; ?isA *false, deceitful*; ?oha?ahnakatĪ *has yellow armpits*; kawosA (The meaning of this word was given by one informant as something like *has a bag of tricks*); kihwria? *drooler*; narĭmiwahtĪ *has no owner* (as compared with a dog).

Cottontail Rabbit: ?eka?e?re·? *red nape*; tiehtavu?kina? *little rabbit (jackrabbit)*; hu·tavu?kina? *wood rabbit*; na?nohka? *can be baked*; yu?naivihI? *soft hair*.

Opossum: pa?ănó?a? *pregnant outside*;

[137] The first three unanalysable words may originally have referred to different species. See Julian H. Steward, Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups, BAE-B 120, pp. 274-83 (1938).

[p. 240-A]

● 825 **pacikwasi?** *bare tail*; **pïwiya?ino·hr** *carries his own rope* (The opossum is reputed to choke chickens and turkeys to death with his tail).

Raccoon: **parú·kU** *water animal* (?); **tu?pa?wehni?** *black hanging down (from the cheeks)*; **cuhniwï?A** *bone penis.*

Mourning Dove: **?eka?omo?** *red legs*; **pasahó·?** (Possibly related to **pasapÏ** *dried up*. One informant suggested the word referred to the dove's habitat, i.e., dry creek beds and river bottoms where there was standing timber and driftwood); **ku?ewó·?**; **na?yanimaitÏ** *lazy one* (Because the mourning dove builds a loose nest and lays only one egg).

While the dog was of paramount importance to the Comanche, only one synonym, **wo?woki?** *barker*, in addition to the usual word for *dog*, **sarí·?**, was found. It may be noted, however, that dogs were individually and fondly named. [552]

It is interesting to observe that a number of newly introduced animals, including the chicken, have similarly received several names.

Pig: **po?ro?** (from Spanish, *puerco*); **ho·kI** (from English, *hog*); ***muvipo?ro?** (*nose* + **po?ro?**); **munua?** *nose mover*.

Mule: **mu·ra?** (from Spanish, *mula*); **to?moci?** (from **to?mocI** *sharp-pointed hoof*); **mï·warï?ipÏ** (This word was explained by one informant as meaning, "when you get to a point where you can't do anything more with a thing", and referring to the mule's sterility.)

Elephant: **?esï?inï·?** *grey animal*; **mu?kwipuna?** *nose curled up*; **mú·pichatïnó·wapI** *carries things for mupic*[18] (a legendary giant).

Chicken: **ko·ko?**; **ko·korá?a·?**; **ta·ya?ke?** *dawn crier (rooster)*; **?ona?ai?** *use salt* (A chicken's pecking is likened to shaking salt).

191 **5.1.** Comanche bilingualism.

The whole range of bilingualism is to be

[18] Charles Detrich, Comanche Vocabulary Collected at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, manuscript on file at BAE (1895) gives only mupic for elephant.

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
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121 The caveat that meanings do
●825 change must be borne in mind, but by applying this principle one observes that Comanche has a great many unanalyzable stems for animals whose range includes, or in some cases is confined to,[122] a more northerly habitat, while the names of most animals indigenous to the Southwest are analyzable compounds, e.g., ʔevikuyú·si? *road-runner* (*green quail*); puhitó·ʔ *turkey* (*grazes in the grass*); see also the words for
121 opossum (5). On the basis of such evidence
174 one could postulate that the Comanche had moved into the Southwest from a more northerly location.[123]

121 The writer hopes the point has been made that an ethnolinguistic approach not only provides useful leads and insights into society and culture, but adds a new dimension to the study of acculturation as well.

[122] For example, tuhkU *moose*. Albert Gallatin, A Synopsis of the Indian Tribes North of Mexico, Trans. & Coll. of the Amer. Antiquarian Society, Vol. II, (Cambridge, Massachusetts; 1836), notes a Comanche word, augi, for *salmon*, a word that was obsolete in 1940.

[113] [123] Edward Sapir, Internal Linguistic Evidence Suggestive of the Northern Origin of the Navaho, AA 38: 224-235 (1936), brilliantly marshalls linguistic evidence which suggests an earlier northern location for the Navaho.

[p.256-B]

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

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539 1. soobe?ʌkʌtsa?$_1$ rʌa$_2$ su?ana$_3$ wakaré?ee?$_4$ tʌrʌebuhipʌ-ha$_5$ hʌkikʌ$_6$ hʌkikahtʌ$_7$. 2. tʌtaatʌ$_1$ ma$_2$ tʌe?tʌkʌse?$_3$ su?ana$_4$ ma$_5$ kʌma?kʌ$_6$ karʌrʌ$_7$, animuiha$_8$ pʌmi$_9$ pʌ$_{10}$ pia?a$_{11}$ maka?eku$_{12}$, u$_{13}$ rʌkʌbʌ́ni$_{14}$. 3. si?anakʌse?$_1$ mahri$_2$ yʌkwihkaku$_3$, piakwasinaboo?$_4$ marʌmkʌ$_5$ bitʌnu$_6$. 4. sitʌ-kʌse?$_1$ kwasinaboo?$_2$, —nʌ$_3$ rʌhkapʌharuku$_4$ mʌh$_5$ tʌhkayʌ-karʌmʌ$_6$. — me$_7$ uhri$_8$ niikwi'yu$_9$. 5. sitʌhkʌse?$_1$ wakaré-?ee?nʌh$_2$ pʌhʌ$_3$ kwahikupʌsʌ$_4$ wekwinu$_5$, ke$_6$ mama?ai$_7$ niwʌnʌayu$_8$, suhka$_9$ kwasinaboo?a$_{10}$ tʌ?ayatʌ$_{11}$. 6. sitʌkʌ-se?$_1$ kwasinaboo?$_2$, —nama?ai$_3$ 'pʌ?$_4$ ke$_5$ mʌhi$_6$ niwʌnʌku$_7$, ʌmi$_8$ mahrʌ$_9$ ahpʌ?a$_{10}$ piwokʌtsi$_{11}$, nuhkitu?i$_{12}$, — me$_{13}$ u$_{14}$ niikwiiyu$_{15}$. 7. sitʌkʌse?$_1$ wakaré?ee?$_2$ tuhúbʌhkanu$_3$. 8. tuhubʌkʌtsika$_1$ pʌ$_2$ puihoikiti$_3$ ekapitʌma$_4$ pisáanu$_5$. 9. si-tʌkʌse?$_1$ kwasinaboo?$_2$, —ke$_3$ hina$_4$ supana?iitʌ$_5$, nánahbi-so?ai$_6$ yʌyʌmuhkutʌ$_7$, nʌʌ?mai$_8$ wakaré?ee?$_9$, — me$_{10}$ u$_{11}$ niikwiiyu$_{12}$. 10. surʌkʌse?$_1$ kwasinaboo?$_2$ maatu$_3$ tunehtsʌ-

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539 1. Long ago$_1$, it is said$_2$, there somewhere$_3$ (a) turtle$_4$ is
825 shade-sitting$_7$ in (the) shade$_6$ (of) little weeds$_5$. 2. As$_{12}$ its$_{10}$ mother$_{11}$ is feeding$_{13}$ flies$_8$ (to) it$_9$ [child], her$_2$ little$_1$ child$_3$ is sitting$_7$ there$_4$ beside$_6$ her$_5$ eating$_{14}$ it$_{13}$ much$_{14}$. 3. As$_3$ they$_2$ are sitting$_3$ here$_1$, (a) big snake$_4$ arrived$_6$ to them$_5$. 4. This$_1$ snake$_2$ said to$_7$ 9 them$_8$. --You two$_5$ are moving about eating$_6$ my$_3$ meat$_4$.— 5. These two$_1$ turtles$_2$ entered$_5$ in$_4$ their$_3$ backs$_4$ (and) talked$_5$ not$_6$ with him$_7$, (and) are afraid of$_{11}$ that$_9$ snake$_{10}$. 6. This$_1$ snake$_2$ said to$_{13}$ 15 him$_{14}$. —As$_7$ you two$_6$ are$_7$ not$_8$ talking$_7$ with me$_3$, I$_4$, will run$_{12}$, dragging$_{11}$ you$_9$, their$_9$ father$_{10}$.— 7. This$_1$ turtle$_2$ got angry$_3$. 8. Getting angry$_1$, around$_3$ his$_2$ eyes$_3$ /he/ /applied$_5$/ /with/ red$_4$. 9. This$_1$ snake$_2$ said to$_{10}$ 12 him$_{11}$. —Lazy$_8$ turtle$_9$, (you) don't$_3$ know$_5$ anything$_4$, (you) move$_7$ slowly$_6$.— 10. This$_1$ snake$_2$ ran$_4$ towards him$_3$, twisted$_5$ his$_6$

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
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Comanche Texts

539 nu̲4, pʌ5 kwasi6 ma7 kwasihoiki8 wʌ?kwipunanu̲9. 11. suni1 u2 mʌʌhtsi3, maai4 piwokʌ̲tsi5, puhikabaiki6 maai7 tsahpó?tsemi?a̲8. 12. sitʌkʌ̲se?1 wakaré?ee?2 suni3 pʌmi4 u5 mʌʌmi?aku6, tʌebuhipʌ̲ha7 su?ana8 wʌnʌku9, mahoiki10 nʌʌ?kwipunu̲kwa̲11. 13. sitʌkʌ̲se?1 kwasinaboo?2 suni3 pʌmi4 u5 mʌʌhka6, pʌ7 kwasi8 tsahká?anu̲9. 14. si?anetʌ̲1 sitʌ2 kwasinaboo?3 kwasiwaaitʌ̲4, nuhkínu̲5. 15. sitʌkʌ̲se?1 wakaré?ee?2, —nohi?3 nanʌ̲su?uyaa4 nʌ?5 u6 mʌʌnu̲7, — me8 yʌkwiiyu̲9. 16. sube?sʌkʌ̲se?1 suni2 uhka3 u4 mʌʌhka5, sʌsʌmʌ?6 kwasinaboo?7 pi?to?na?i̲8. 17. subetʌ̲1.

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539 (own) tail6 around8 his7 (the turtle's) tail8. 11. Acting on5
825 him3 that way1, dragging8 him4, (he) went bouncing9 him7 through the weeds6. 12. As4 he5 went acting on5 him4 that way3, as9 little weeds7 are standing9 there8, this1 turtle2 went off wrapping himself11 around it10 [weeds]. 13. When6 he5 [the turtle] acted on5 him4 [the snake] that way3, this1 snake2 pulled off9 his7 (own) tail8. 14. At this place1 this2 snake3 is without a tail4, (and) ran away5. 15. This1 turtle2 said9. —I8 caused7 him4 to be7 very5 laughable4.— 16. From that time1, when5 he4 acted on5 him3 that way2, some6 snakes7 are bobtailed8. 17. That is all1.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

omy.[1] Probably one-third of the Comanches refused to sign the treaty and accept reservation life. But after the failure of the Quaker Peace Policy, the government embarked upon an aggressive military campaign that resulted in the total defeat of the Comanches in the early autumn of 1874.

The Comanches began life on the reservation politically, economically, socially, and spiritually bankrupt. Traditional culture patterns were no longer applicable. The chiefs could no longer maintain control. Without opportunity to hunt and to raid there was no means by which the men could attain social rank and prestige; the social system was frozen. Religious and moral concepts seemed valueless; their medicine had failed them. The buffalo were quickly slaughtered, leaving the Comanches without a source of supplying themselves with food, clothing, shelter, or other necessities.

The Comanches were expected to pass within the span of a single lifetime from the age of stone to that of steam. They were to accept the white man's language, his legal and moral codes, his religion, his food, his clothing. They were to build houses, schools, and churches, to purchase farm equipment and livestock, to improve their allotments, and learn to farm. It was a big assignment. Obviously, considerable capital was necessary for significant progress.

The cultural change was too rapid and too great for simple solution. For some there was no problem; they simply refused to take the white man's road and in an effort to resurrect the past, tried the sun dance, the ghost dance, and peyote—all in vain. A few farsighted individuals had realized from the first that there was no alternative for the white man's road. Reluctantly, the disillusioned began to take it. Favorable economic conditions made the transition easier.

Meanwhile, land hungry "Boomers" made stronger and stronger demands on the government to open the reservation. They argued that the lands were not being used. One

1. Charles J. Kappler (comp.), Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 57 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Doc. 452 (2 Vols.; Washington, 1903), II, 977 ff.

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

(ca. 1786)

nor of Texas a number of questions about this tribe. A translation of Governor's Cabello's reply follows:

Domingo Cabello: "Answers that the Governor of the Province of Texas Gave to the Questions that the Señor Commandant-General of the Interior [Provinces] asked in a letter dated January 27, 1786, about various circumstances of the Eastern Comanche Indians," April 30, 1786, Bexar Archives.

FIRST: About Their Customs.

According to what is known about this Nation, it is the most brave and warlike of those [tribes] that inhabit the North; and when they have friendship they are very friendly and of a generous mood, and friends of their friends, although delicate in the mode with which they make friendship. They adore very much the skins of animals which they customarily bring with them, and which they fasten on themselves during the encounters of war, so that they will not be killed or wounded in any manner; and if any misfortune befall them, they attribute it to having given some offense to this specie of idol, such as not having offered it food or the smoke (*humo*) of tobacco each time they smoke (*fuman*), or that women have defiled the ceremonies which they make use of when they take the pipe in hand. Some devote themselves in this manner to adoring a buffalo hide, others to that of the bear, others to the otter, and others to that of some birds, whose skin, still with its feathers, they use to adorn themselves. Their marriages they celebrate with as many women as they are able to maintain; if someone distinguishes himself in bravery and in actions made against his enemies, or something of a similar nature, some fathers give him even of their daughters, and it is the custom many times for him to marry with the sisters [of his wife]; husbands maintain their women with the buffalo and deer which they hunt; [the women] are obliged to work the meat and [prepare] the hides of the said animals. [The husbands] are so extremely jealous that for very trifling motives they kill their women; furthermore, when these mild ones give occasion for it, the husbands treat them with much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

Out of apparent weakness emerged the wildest marauding brigandage. The Comanches whipped and drove the Apaches from the southern Plains. They stalemated the Spanish. They decimated the pueblo of Pecos. They ranged far below the Rio Grande on slave- and booty-taking raids into Old Mexico. They blocked the westward expansion of the Texas frontier for several decades. They became "The Spartans of the Prairies." They were rough, tough, aggressive and militant individualists. They gave trouble to all their enemies and to themselves. And in their way, out of the nothingness of Shoshone legal backgrounds they shaped a crude but effective system of law to cope with the clashes of individual with individual within their ranks.

. . .

The basic postulates of the Comanche way of life are simple and few. They express a strong individualism and man-to-man aggressiveness in the following terms:

Postulate I. The individual is supreme in all things.

Postulate II. The self of the male is realized in striving for accumulated war honors, horses, and women.

Postulate III. Women are sexually and economically desirable but are inferior and subordinate to men.

Corollary 1. The sex rights of a husband to his wife are limited to himself and his brothers.

Postulate IV. The strongest social tie is that of brother to brother.

Postulate V. Sexual relations between kin (incest) constitutes subhuman behavior.

Postulate VI. War is essential to the prosperity of the tribe and the individual self-expression of the male.

Postulate VII. The great spirits (Sun and Earth) have powers of "legal" judgment.

Postulate VIII. Each Comanche ought to cooperate with others and help them in their life's activities.

Corollary 1. Altruism and sharing of goods is socially desirable.

Corollary 2. The killing of a fellow tribesman is not permissible.

Postulate IX. Horses, especially favorite horses, have quasi-human personalities.

The simple needs of Comanche society did not impose any great social pressure for governmental controls, and the high value placed upon individual freedom of action also worked to hold government at a minimum. If a Comanche had been invited to subscribe to a political slogan, he would have given his assent to the proposition that "that government is best which governs least." So fully was this precept expressed in a lack of political action that That's It, one of the most acute of our Comanche informants,

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

682 It was an absolute privilege-right, which not even her family would move
[593] to challenge.

On the other hand, for one Comanche male to kill another was never
682 a privilege-right, even when applying force to an over-stubborn defendant.
627 Any willful killing required a revenge killing of the slayer. Here was the fatal weakness of Comanche law, as indeed of so much primitive law. The culture provided right ways of procedure and defined the substance of
602 tortious acts. But the primacy of the kin group came to the fore whenever
682 a prosecutor felt he had pushed negotiation as far as it would carry and
627 then had taken recourse to arms. The kin of the defendant whom he had killed did not accept the killing, although general public opinion may have held that the victim had it coming to him. The Comanche kinsmen took revenge on the prosecutor regardless of the rightness of his original grievance. In enforcing the law he lost his life, a victim of *lex talionis*.

However much Comanche law fell short in this respect, custom
[518] remedied the defect in another. Blood-revenge killing was only of the first killer and retaliation did not lead to feud. The kinship principle, while extant, was nevertheless weak among the Comanches, and general fighting within the tribe was not to be countenanced when there were always outside enemies to be confronted. The killer, and the killer alone, had to die. There it stopped. No religious sanction, no tribal authority, was necessary to suppress the feuding tendency. Custom was sufficient restraint, and in this the Comanches were fortunate, for thereby they escaped the self-renewing curse that plagues so many primitive law systems.

Willful killing of a man's favorite horse was an act akin to murder,
685 especially if the horse had been bequeathed to him by a best friend. Re-
627 taliation was taken not in killing the favorite horse of the transgressor but
[825] in slaying the transgressor himself. A favorite horse had a legal personality and was equated with a human being. Consequently, no further blood revenge followed, for things were already equal: a man for a horse.

Every Comanche male at one time or another went on a vision quest
787 in search of power. He did not abase himself before the supernatural spirits or masochistically mutilate and torture himself to arouse their compassion.
716 Nor did he weep before them to arouse their pity. Unlike the tribesmen
787 of the Plains to the north, he assumed that the spirits were generally benign toward him; they needed no coaxing to share the benefits of their power with him. If he fasted and waited in a lonely place, they would help him.
716 Nor did they interfere in his daily living except as they put conditions on the use of the power they gave him. A Comanche had to observe no super-
784 natural tabus save those that went with his own personal medicine. Under Postulate VIII, most Comanche medicine men used their powers to help
756 the people. They cured and used their medicine to bring success in war
789 and the hunt. They even, for a contractual consideration, helped others

A [See category 181, p. 69--Analyst]

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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She speaks similarly of peyote:

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That peyote is a real good medicine. They call it . . . some of the Indians call it a sacrament like white peoples who are Christians. God gave that peyote to the Indians to help them when they got sickness. I learned how to use that peyote a lot of ways. You ain't supposed to take it and think you go crazy. No! It's a medicine and that's the way I use it. Peyote gives me power to make people well.

When speaking of her supernatural patron, the eagle, she says:

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The eagle got more power then anything living, I guess. Its got Medicine to help people get well . . . to cure them. I got power like that eagle because the eagle help me when I call on it when I doctor. My mother told me that I be just like that eagle when I doctor. I can feel the eagle working in me when I doctor and try hard to get somebody well. Feels like that eagle tell me in my mind to go ahead and fix that person up . . . get him well.

However, though she utilizes elements of peyotism and Christianity, she has little sympathy for the organized forms of these religions. This is especially true with regard to Christianity.

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The way I know is, when I went to Christian church up there, many, many years back I found out some things. Like when you get hard up, or when you get sick in the family, they ain't going to help you. They don't come. They don't say, "Let's have a prayer meeting for you. Let's do that." They don't say that to you. They really tight. They don't spare nothing with you. I still pray like that, but I'm not going to their church for nothing.

She speaks of the Native American Church:

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They say I supposed to sign my name to belong to that Native Church. I told them that I wasn't going to do that. I been using that medicine for long as I know it, and my mother before me, and her father before her and way, way back like that. I don't have to belong to nothing to use that medicine. We hold meetings here on our place but I ain't going nowhere else around here to peyote meeting. That medicine belong to anybody that needs it and you don't have to belong to the church that they set up if you want to use it.

White Contact

Sanapia's first extensive contact with white society came when she began her schooling at the age of seven at Cache Creek Mission School in southern Oklahoma. She remembers the seven years she spent at Cache Creek as generally pleasant.

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I really did enjoy that school. I like it. The teachers . . . every one of them and our superintendent were all missionaries. They were really nice people. They teach us the bible. All the girls and boys go up there and they teach us all these bible stories and they question us out of the bible to see if we really read it.

31: Jones E-S (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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malevolent spirits of the dead and the Medicine of the potential eagle doctor. Kardiner's (1945:93) observation that, among the Comanche, "Medicine" is merely a euphemism for "courage" is pertinent, for the ghost's major weapon against the neophyte doctor is fear. It is interesting that although the behavior engaged in during these four days and nights of solitude is similar to the general pattern of Plains vision questing, Sanapia conceives of this time as merely a final test and not a time when a supernatural patron could have possibly appeared to her and granted her certain supernatural prerogatives. The apparition of her patron, the eagle, would come later in her career as a doctor. In the beginning of her doctoring career, the powers which she possessed came strictly from a personal power transmission from her mother and uncle to her. Sanapia feels that visitations from either the eagle, or at times from the spirits of her mother and uncle, are gifts granted her as a reward for her faith and conscientious endeavors as a doctor.

Power Transmission

The first stage in the actual power transmission from the mother was concerned with instilling power into Sanapia's mouth and hands, the areas of the body where an eagle doctor's powers are most strongly represented. The rituals involved with this first phase of transmission are very similar to the blessing ceremony, at least in the introductory stages. Sanapia's brother was told by the mother to lay a fire of pecan wood. After the wood burned to coals, the brother brought the coals to a secluded place where Sanapia and her mother waited. The mother sat facing east, and Sanapia was instructed to sit facing her, while the mound of coals burned between them. Sanapia was cedared[1] and fanned by her mother with the standard blessings of long life and good health. This blessing also included the mother's singing of her Medicine song, an action which serves to call the *puhakut*'s power sources to his service. The mother, using her bare hand, then plucked a live coal from the mound of embers and handed it to Sanapia. At first, Sanapia reports, she balked at placing the burning coal in her hand, but at her mother's insistence she took it and was amazed that it did not burn her. She was then instructed to rub the coal over her hands. Once again the similarity in the concepts of "Medicine" and "courage" appear. Today, Sanapia interprets the handling of live coals as an act of faith in the doctor, a necessary first step in testing the potential doctor's resolve.

> I was sure scared then . . . almost got up and ran away. I was only a young girl at that time, you know. But, when I took them coals on my hand, inside and outside my hand I felt a chill, maybe. Oh, it was like chills in my hands. That has the meaning that power was in there . . . working in my hands. Felt like it would go up my arm even.

[1] The dried leaves of the red cedar are sprinkled on live coals, and the rising smoke is wafted over the person who is being blessed.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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115 159 756 be the rationale for the transmission of power in stages, each stage being interrupted by a certain length of time in which the effects of the preceding stage on the recipient can be observed. Sanapia was not entirely sure how a negative reaction to a transmission of supernatural power would manifest itself. She suggested death or insanity as two possibilities.

For the several months following the first stage of transmission, Sanapia was closely observed by her mother and her maternal uncle, who at this time entered into Sanapia's training program, instructing her in the many medicinal uses of peyote. If any ill effects from the first transmission had occurred in Sanapia, her mother would have immediately terminated Sanapia's program and acted to remove the power which she had given her up to that point. Sanapia's total immersion in running water would have been a core theme of such a desacralizing ritual. Since no negative reactions appeared in Sanapia, her mother initiated the second stage of transmission.

All the power transmission ceremonies are generally similar in that they are based on the blessing ceremony of the eagle doctor, which employs cedar, [789] eagle feathers, Medicine song, and red paint. The unique feature of the second transmission was the mother's magical insertion of an "eagle egg" into Sanapia's [825] stomach. An increase in eagle traits indicates an increase in eagle power. To Sanapia the logical pivot of the egg insertion in this second stage of transmission is clear: "Female eagles have eggs inside them." As with the case of the eagle feather in the first transmission ceremony, Sanapia feels that it was the essence or the idea of the egg which entered her. Similarly, she cannot explain how the egg disappeared from her mother's hand prior to the egg's insertion in her stomach.

Tabus

115 159 756 784 262 The tabu connected with this second power increase forbids Sanapia to eat eggs. It can be seen that each stage of power increase is signaled by the neophyte eagle doctor's acquisition of symbolic elements which are to a great degree intertwined with the nature of the accompanying tabus. As the power increases, the potential dangers to the *puhakut* increase as his behavior is more tightly bound by tabus, the breaking of which would lead to personal disaster. From Sanapia's accounts, *the puhakuts*, at least of her time, possessed a way to escape the tabu burdens of their powers if they wished. As Sanapia grew older, she began to acquire a craving for eggs. In order to satisfy this hunger, without risking the dangers of breaking her "rule," she commissioned an eagle doctor to extract the egg from her, and thus dismiss the tabu against the consumption of eggs. Of course, by having this done she also lost the quantity of supernatural power which accompanies the eagle egg. It is interesting to note that though the tabu was removed, Sanapia is now physically unable to eat eggs.

> Up to today, I just can't eat eggs. When I eat it I feel like it just set there and it won't go in. I don't know why. I thought I would be able to eat eggs. When I was small my mother won't let me eat eggs because I already had one and she don't want me to eat eggs. But after she pass away and I start eating

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
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she desired simply by wishing for it. Sanapia evades the strictures of this tabu by circumlocutions when her daily routine dictates that she must ask an individual for some object or assistance.

The second "rule" which she acquired at this stage required that she must always be alone when she doctors. Once again, Sanapia views this as a recognition of the potential dangers which excessive supernatural powers possess for humans. The only individuals who could possibly be with her while she doctors are other eagle doctors or persons who Sanapia feels have Medicine which would protect them against the dangers of supernatural contamination.

Kardiner (1945:64) makes a comment relevant at this point when writing on the subject of Comanche notions of power and magic.

> Another interesting point in connection with power, probably unique with the Comanches, is that power might be obtained from the ghosts of medicine men. This was obtained through sleeping by the grave of the medicine man, not moving all night, no matter what terrifying thing happened. The ghost would then transfer the power asked for. Sometimes the sleeper would have a vision; in this the ghost did not come in human form but as a great wind and then a giant bird, which conveyed to him the power that he wanted.

Sanapia's discussion of the later stages of her training agrees with Kardiner's statement in general; however, some major divergences appear. Sanapia, through her Medicine song, is able to summon the spirits of her mother and uncle to her aid. She does not consider their appearance as the apparition of ghosts, however. To Sanapia, ghosts are totally evil entities. Ghosts are also unable to appear in human form since, in her opinion, their human forms decomposed at the place of their interment. Her mother and uncle appear to her looking exactly as they did during the time of her training. When they appear, they do not speak but rather employ hand signs to tell Sanapia that they have come to her aid.

She does not mention a Medicine man's grave as the location of the inevitable struggle with the ghosts, and she definitely does not feel that power is transmitted to her from ghosts. She does agree generally with Kardiner's mention of a "giant bird" as one of her power sources, though she does not believe that the Medicine bird is actually a ghost in another form.

In reiteration, Sanapia states that she received her initial powers through her mother and maternal uncle, and only later in her life was she honored with visitations by the eagle, her patron and guardian spirit. The four days and nights of seclusion and meditation, in her opinion, are in actuality a final test of a new doctor's ability to withstand the attacks of ghosts, and not a time when he is in a position to acquire further powers from a supernatural patron.

Final Test

Sanapia failed her final test. After her mother had explained to her what she could expect during her four-day ordeal, Sanapia was too frightened to go through with the vigil. She would spend the daylight hours sitting on the hill

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Visitations from the Medicine Eagle

115 159 756 825 787 [533] Sanapia has had only two visitations from her supernatural eagle patron in her doctoring career. Both occurred during doctoring situations as a direct result of the singing of her Medicine song. Sanapia reports that her Medicine eagle looks like eagles she has seen in the wild except that it is much larger. She can feel her eagle's presence before she sees it. On the first occasion she felt a rush of air from its wings, and on the second it was a tingling sensation which announced the presence of the Medicine eagle. Sanapia states that when the eagle came to her, everything around her dissappeared with the resultant image: an eagle against a murky gray background. These visitations were very brief. During the eagle's apparition, it appeared to be hovering directly in front of her at a distance of about 4 or 5 feet. While the eagle was present, Sanapia trembled violently and perspired freely. She states that her heart beat very rapidly and she felt as if she was going to faint.

Contacts with the Supernatural

115 159 756 787 [775] Sanapia has provided herself with several contacts with the supernatural worlds. Since she cannot visit the other worlds, Sanapia must depend on these contacts to assist her in making her wishes known to the supernatural realms. Her comments concerning her Medicine song clearly identify the spirits of her mother and maternal uncle as her two major assistants. It should also be remembered that she considers her Medicine song as her most potent piece of doctoring paraphernalia. The spirit–man in her recurring real dreams is also a liaison or avenue of rapport between Sanapia and the supernatural, though in this case it is strictly a one-way phenomenon which is beyond Sanapia's control.

115 159 756 787 533 775 Sanapia's eagle comes to her only through the intercession of her mother and uncle via Sanapia's Medicine song. She associates her lack of courage in the final phase of her doctor training with her inability to call the eagle to her aid independently of her mother's and uncle's intercession. This is also the reason why Sanapia possesses only one Medicine song instead of the many which her mother and uncle possessed. In the final analysis, Sanapia can rarely act independently as a doctor; she must call on the assistance of her teachers. Therefore, instead of having many songs for summoning power, she has one. She must first call on her mother and uncle and then relate to them her wishes, which they, through their superior powers, actualize. Basically, then, Sanapia's real power is the control which she can exert over the powerful spirits of two *puhakuts*. However, this type of analysis is foreign to Sanapia. She prefers to think of herself as the pitiable supplicant.

115 159 756 787 755 Peyote is another important liaison with supernatural powers. The power she receives from peyote is the only power which she can manipulate entirely independently of the spirits of her mother and uncle. Still, the power of peyote is subordinate to the powers possessed by the spirits of her mother and uncle,

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listing the crow's aid against the owls or ghosts. Sanapia, however, does not share her Kiowa and Apache neighbor's aversion to owls. 778 237 775 171 825

> You know, these Apaches sure are crazy. They get scared of them owls . . . they might hear them holler or something. It ain't nothing but a funny bird. A bird can't hurt nobody and they think it's a ghost.

Glass Slivers

Slivers of glass, usually obtained from broken beer bottles, are used by Sanapia whenever a certain treatment calls for the making of incisions in the flesh. This operation is almost always immediately succeeded by the use of the sucking horn or by suction applied by mouth. 756 755 757

Several examples will adequately explain the function of these slivers of brown glass. For both a severe headache and extreme vertigo the same procedure is followed. Minute cuts are made at either temple, in the middle of the forehead, and immediately below the hairline at the nape of the neck. These incisions are approximately one-sixteenth of an inch in length and penetrate only deep enough to produce a blood flow. The sucking horn is applied after all the cuts have been made, and sucking is continued from point to point around the head until both Sanapia and the patient are satisfied with the results.

Sanapia believes that "bad blood," or "foamy stuff," causing pressure in the head area is the cause of both conditions. To relieve the symptoms, the blood or foamy stuff, must be removed. The same notion of pain caused by the pressure of expanding foamy stuff stimulates the use of the cutting operation in the treatment of swollen joints, which Sanapia calls "rheumatism" in the absence of evidence indicating breaks or sprains. 753

Sanapia specifies the use of only brown glass in an attempt to imitate her mother. The mother utilized what, from Sanapia's description, appear to have been brown flintlike slivers as cutting tools in doctoring. Sanapia does not know how to obtain "cutting rocks" so she employs brown glass as a close approximation.

Sucking Horn

Sanapia's sucking horn is a 4-inch section of the horn casing of a variety of domestic cattle found in her vicinity. The 4-inch section is cut from the point or extremity of the horn. This piece of horn is usually drilled and scoured to develop a clear opening from the tip of the segment of horn, which will be used as the mouthpiece, to the termination of the horn or area of widest diameter, which will be the point of application when the horn is employed in doctoring. 237

This item is used when the treatment calls for Sanapia to attempt to suck sickness from the body of her patient. She recalls that when she was young, the sucking horn was used very little by the Comanche doctors which she had the opportunity to observe. If the treatment called for suction, the doctor employed his mouth. Sanapia believes that it was with the advent of the white man and his teaching that many diseases are spread and caught via the mouth that Comanche doctors began to depend more on the sucking horn in an effort to keep their mouth from contact with the patient. 177

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The madstone, or medicine bone was used for wounds, infections, boils, and pains. It was a small piece of leg bone of the giant prehistoric mammoth believed by the Comanches to be the bones of *piamɔmpits*—the cannibal owl. Placed over the affected spot, it was supposed to draw out the poison. 756 755 237

Sanapia offers the following description of what *piamɔpits* was supposed to have looked like. 756 755 825

> It look like a man . . . big, old monster. They said it got a face like a man. It's got hair all over its body and it got big feet. It's tall, you know. They die of old age, I guess. They be way out there somewhere and just sit there and die. Just after awhile dirt just covering them up, and they go under ground like that. That's where they find this medicine up to today.

Sanapia grinds this medicine, which she calls "bone medicine," into a powder and mixes it with water to form a dilute medicinal solution. She sometimes simply wets the piece of bone and applies it to the afflicted area of the body. Bone medicine is used to strengthen bones and is especially effective in the treatment of sprains. Sanapia does not mention its use in the treatment of boils, wounds, or infections. 756 755 237 278

The Bible

Sanapia carries a Bible with her most of the time, and it is always present when she doctors. Before beginning treatment she holds the Bible in both hands before her and prays for power. 756 755 779

> I really read bible lots, and I go by the bible when I'm doctoring too. I always ask God to give power to my hands and mind. I pray hard to the Holy Ghost. I learned that bible while I was at Cache Creek school. My mother didn't go by the bible when she doctoring, but I do, because you got to ask God for help sometimes.

Medicine Feather

Sanapia's Medicine feather is the tail feather from a golden eagle. She employs it in every case she doctors, and of all the items which she carries when she doctors, this is the most revered. The feather is used to ceremonially "fan" her patient at various points during the course of treatment and as a general prop in her doctoring performances. It is always cedared before and after use. 756 755 237 825

"Fanning" is an act of blessing as well as a strictly curative act when performed by Sanapia. When it is being used as a tool in the doctoring procedure, she employs the feather to waft the smoke from certain smoldering medicines over her patient. At times though, during treatment and always immediately after treatment, Sanapia lightly taps the patient with her Medicine feather around the face and head, making four passes over the face and forehead and four passes over the back of the head. She then taps four times on each arm with a fanning motion. This is proceeded by four fanlike taps on the chest and back and four 778

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fanning passes over the front and back of the body from the waist down. Sanapia prays that her patient may live a long, healthy life as she fans him and that all evil will be blown away from the patient by the motion of the feather. She explains that she has the power of the eagle; and when she touches a person with her Medicine feather, it is as if the eagle were touching them, instilling in them some of its Medicine. Her feather carries with it the tabus associated with her other medicine articles. However, a specific emphasis was placed by her mother on the prohibition of taking the Medicine feather into a room or area in which there is a large group of people.

> That eagle got some kind of power that I use for Medicine. I got one eagle feather, and it is really powerful, that thing. And I believe it. I done many works with that feather. I believe it.

Indian Lard

"Indian lard" is the name Sanapia applies to tallow or rendered beef fat. She uses it as a general purpose salve, though she states that it is especially efficacious in the treatment of severe burns. Also, it is her only remedy for constipation. Two or three tablespoonsful of lukewarm liquified tallow are administered to a patient with constipation.

Mouth Wash

The majority of cases which Sanapia treats involve the sucking operation. When the sucking is completed, Sanapia requires something to kill the "poison" and the disagreeable taste which is left in her mouth. Her mother used kerosene; however, Sanapia prefers a commercial brand of mouth wash and carries a small bottle of it in her medicine kit.

Red Paint

The red paint used by Sanapia is obtained by grinding and powdering a dark red clay which she finds west of Geary, Oklahoma. The paint is reconstituted by mixing it with water or tallow.

The paint is ever present in all of her blessing ceremonies. She also uses this paint at the termination of her treatment of ghost sickness. On the last day of treatment, she paints the patient's face, lower arms, and lower legs. The patient is instructed to wear the paint for two days before washing it off.

Sanapia states that painting is a prayer to the earth. The red paint is obtained from the earth and is the color of the earth. When she applies it to her patient she is asking the earth to care for him.

> The earth . . . talk to it like a mother. They call it that. Say "Watch this man, or woman, or child. They walking on you, same color as you, they you child. You can see that. Watch out for them during the long time they got to be on you."

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278 824 755 757 You just give them a cup full of this, and another cup, and another, and another . . . they just be filled up with that medicine. Sit around for ten or fifteen minutes and that medicine just goes in their stomach and stirs up all that fluid, whatever it is. When you got asthma, you got all those bronmicha [sic] tubes filled with slobber. That medicine takes it out. It comes out by itself, you don't have to vomit or nothing . . . through the mouth . . . comes right out. Some of it comes through the nose too. It runs out fast and they get well. You don't have to treat them another day longer.

itse

[No translation] [No specimen]

This medicine comes from the Mescalero Apache region and is obtained from the same sources which supply Sanapia with *ba:tasas* and *ɛsipɔbɔβi*. Dr. Harry W. Basehart of the University of New Mexico, who has done field research among the Mescalero, states the word *itse* is very similar to a Mescalero word which means "mystical influence." Mrs. Julia A. Jordon made a similar suggestion based [177] on her experience with the Kiowa-Apache of Oklahoma. There is a strong possibility, then, that this word has been borrowed from Apache into Comanche.

The part of the plant which is utilized as medicine seems to be from [752] Sanapia's description, a fruiting body. The plant is chiefly used as a remedy for [825] the bites of rattlesnakes and as a rattlesnake repellent. Sanapia describes how she uses it as a snake repellent for her son:

> When he goes to the field, like now, I have it boiled and I just rub it on his leg like that and then a cloth and pour it on and tie it around his boots . . . pour it all on there. Now if there's a rattlesnake running right there, he right up on him, but he won't jump him. He smells that and he just lay low. It'll kill that snake right now. I don't know how it does it. That medicine is really strong. A rattlesnake ain't going to smell it. They going to die if they smell it.

Sanapia recalls that she saw old people among the Comanche carry it in small cloth sacks tied to their belts or around their ankles in order to repel snakes. [752] In the case of snake bite, the *itse* is chewed to a pulpy consistency and spread over the fang punctures, or it is retained in the mouth of the one who attempts to suck the poison from the wound. It is also used in this manner for the bites of poisonous spiders and scorpions.

In addition, Sanapia boils it into a thick broth for patients suffering from pneumonia. She notes that one of *itse*'s interesting characteristics is that it causes excessive salivation, and she therefore employs it when she must induce salivation in a patient.

osidobeda

[137] peyote" *Lophophora williamsii* (peyote)

Peyote is Sanapia's most utilized general medicine, and in her opinion its curative properties can aid in healing any type of human physical affliction. She grinds and pounds the dried buttons to a powder which is then boiled or

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society. Therefore the dangers of aggressing toward a source which could effectively retaliate is lessened. Although witch fear serves this same function in some cultures, the particular nature of Comanche witchcraft beliefs precludes its similar use in Comanche society. In Comanche society witchcraft is usually worked by *pubakuts*. Therefore, the individual who may have witched your uncle last month may be the only one who could cure you if you contracted ghost sickness tomorrow.

Debt to the Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache

It appears very likely that the Comanches borrowed heavily from their Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache neighbor's ghost beliefs to revitalize and supplement their own ghost complex. Possibly, the Comanche ghost complex lost much in complexity and elaboration during the many decades of its relative insignificance among the nomadic Comanches. The contemporary Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache notions of ghosts, their nature, and their effects on the living are very similar in general design. However, Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache ghost beliefs, relative to the Comanche's, seem to be much more systematic, consistent, and elaborated. This view is substantiated by a perusal of some of the relevant field notes of others who have done research among these peoples (Bittle 1967; Freeman 1968). Sanapia's use of a crow feather amulet against ghosts can be presented as a specific example. Sanapia and several other Comanche informants, though feeling that crow feathers act to repel ghosts, could offer no explanation for this peculiar property of the crow feathers. Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache informants, however, were quick to point out that the crow is the natural enemy of the owl, a standard guise of the ghosts. Therefore, crow feathers are magically used to enlist the aid of the crow against the owl. Comanches do not generally hold this notion of the association of the owl with ghosts, though they value crow feathers as protective amulets against ghosts. It appears that the Comanches borrowed the crow feather amulet without borrowing the rationale for its use.

Habits of Ghosts

Comanche ghost notions are uncomplicated. The following themes appear consistently in the accounts of actual ghost contact, though not so consistently in the idealized ghost lore. The Comanches have defined the ghost's operating hours to that time between sunset and sunrise and its area of operation in the majority of cases to any place that is relatively isolated. Though the ghost can appear during the daylight hours as a whirlwind, I collected no accounts of ghost sickness being contracted during that time. Cedar smoke or cedar leaves serve the Comanches as a totally effective ghost repellent. Thus, it seems that it would be a simple matter to avoid the ghosts: Keep a supply of cedar leaves in your house, and do not wander abroad at night in an isolated area unaccompanied. Yet

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who his potential victim might be, and it is considered a breach of etiquette to quiz him on the subject. There is also the element of fear present since the *puhakut*, though prepared to witch, does not name his victim until the final stage of witchcraft, and thus any untoward actions by an individual may draw the *puhakut*'s pent-up resolve in a direction which could be decided by him on the spur of the moment. Sanapia likens the *puhakut*, during this phase of witchcraft, to a bomb which could be detonated at the slightest touch.

The final stage of witchcraft is initiated by sunrise on the selected day and is completed by sunset on the same day. The *puhakut* takes a white eagle plume and, puncturing the base of the rib, inserts a length of buckskin approximately 12 inches long. The buckskin is tied so that the plume dangles tip down from this buckskin strand. Immediately before sunrise, carrying this one specially prepared item, the *puhakut* goes off by himself to perform his witchcraft. He secures the plume from the branch of a tree in such a manner that it will be hidden from the view of a possible passerby but so it can move freely at the dictates of the wind. He then sits beneath the plume and begins to pray for the death of his victim. As he prays, he makes before him in the soil a small replica of a grave and prays that when the plume finally breaks free from its tether, the object of his prayers will die and enter the grave which has been prepared for him. At sunset the *puhakut* returns to his home, his witchcraft completed. He wears the buckskin loop until the death of his victim, at which time he cuts it from his skin, burns it, and throws the ashes into the nearest running water.

Kardiner (1945:67) writes that a Comanche who thought he was going to be witched or who had been witched could pay the doctor who was responsible to remove the "spell." Sanapia denies this and emphasizes that one of the particularly horrible things about witchcraft is that it cannot be stopped once it is set in motion. A doctor can sometimes cure the witch's victim once the witchcraft has been actualized, but nothing can be done by a doctor before the symptoms appear in the victim. She feels that the majority of witching situations never reach the final stage. In her opinion the buckskin loop advertisement of the witch usually persuades the potential victim to cease his misbehavior before the witch finally and irrevocably sets his black magic into operation. Sanapia also states that this is used as a form of blackmail by some Comanches.

Sanapia refers to this final stage of witchcraft as "shooting the feather." She states that the witch causes the eagle plume to enter the body of the victim at the moment it breaks free from its tether. The feather enters the victim immediately below the surface of the skin and proceeds to move rapidly over the entire body area, causing the physical symptoms associated with witchcraft. It finally lodges in some area of the victim's body, where it will eventually cause his death if it is not removed by a doctor who possesses the Medicine required to counteract its influence.

It is significant that the method of witchcraft as related by an eagle doctor would have as its principle ritual an eagle plume which is prepared and utilized in such a manner as to make it as much like an eagle as possible: It is placed very high in a tree, and it is attached to the tree in such a manner that it will be able to move freely and naturally at the motion of the wind. This follows from

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the imitative and sympathetic mystical rapport an eagle doctor possess with his supernatural patron, the eagle; and it suggests that possibly this method of witchcraft is, or was, in the form of a special Medicine solely possessed by doctors with eagle power and that doctors who possessed a different supernatural patron would also possess different method of witchcraft. The emphasis on prayers to the sun is also relevant.

The Symptoms of Witch Sickness

Sanapia feels that the symptoms exhibited by an individual who has been witched are unmistakable. Such a person feels tired and listless and is unable to retain food. He wants to sleep continually and usually suffers from fever. The unique symptom of witchcraft, according to Sanapia, is excessive perspiration on the top of the victim's head, perspiration which the victim cannot feel and which can be felt only by a doctor possessing the proper Medicine. She believes that this localized fever is caused by "foamy stuff" which accumulates under the skin surface at the top of the head. The foamy stuff is, in turn, caused by the magically toxic witch's feather. Also occurring are symptoms which are very similar to the unilateral facial paralysis which appears with ghost sickness. In the case of witchcraft, however, the victim's eyes do not water, he does not salivate excessively, and the contortions of the face, hands, and arms occur in spasmodic fashion rather than the constant state of paralysis found with ghost sickness. In both cases the contortions of the face are felt to be caused by pockets of foamy stuff which accumulate under the skin.

Sanapia feels that ghost and witch sickness are the most difficult types of sickness to treat because both are essentially unnatural and malevolent. In contrast, pneumonia, for example, is a natural sickness which does not possess the supernatural tenacity of illnesses which are backed by the supernatural and malevolent resolve of a ghost or witch. Thus with ghost and witch sickness, Sanapia must not only cure the symptomatic effects of these illnesses but must also act to neutralize the malevolent supernatural power which is somehow contiguous with these symptoms.

Treatment of Witch Sickness

When Sanapia doctors a victim of witchcraft, she utilizes *təpinatsu*, *ekapokowa:pi*, *kutiwəna*, her Medicine feather, glass slivers, charcoal from the peyote drum, and her sucking horn. She prepares a thin paste of *kutiwəna* and applies it to the area of the patient's body which she feels to be the place where the feather is located. *Təpinatsu* and *ekapokowa:pi* are deposited on live coals to produce medicine smoke which is wafted over the patient to induce healing.

The procedure begins before sunrise on the first day of treatment when Sanapia makes her morning prayers to the rising sun. She begins treatment proper when she feels all conditions to be favorable. Exactly what criteria Sanapia uses

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Concepts of Illness

Sanapia employs three basic notions as foundations in her conceptualization 753
of the nature of illness. The first of these may be stated: Things in rapid and erractic motion or rapid and erratic motion itself are intrinsically dangerous to the human body. It is pertinent that Kardiner (1945:66) mentions that the Comanches thought of diseases not as material objects but as kinds of insects, living things, which had somehow gotten into the body.

The second of these basic ideas is that virtually all human physiological malfunction is caused by the swelling of certain body tissues, liquids, or specific organs; and the third of these conceptual foundations is that illness in the human body manifests itself materially in the form of a toxic liquid which has its center of production in the immediate area of the abnormal swelling or which is the cause of the swelling in the body of the sick individual. In the majority of cases this threefold scheme can be stated: Something moving rapidly or erratically in the body has caused an area of the body to become swollen. This swollen area is producing a toxic liquid which, if removed from the body, will relieve the symptoms of the illness. The cause of the illness is destroyed by the supernatural power of Sanapia or by the medicines which she has endorsed with extraordinary porential.

In Sanapia's description of the execution of the final stages of witchcraft, 753
she made great note of the necessity of using an eagle plume which must be 751
prepared and attached to the tree branch in such a manner that it will be free 237
to dance and flutter with any breezes that should contact it. She also gestured rapidly to depict how the plume would react to the wind when she described the plume's placement in the tree branch. The reason why a feather is not used is that it would not move properly in the wind. The erratic movement of the plume is essential in witchcraft. In addition, the magical feather, upon entering the body of the victim, moves rapidly over the body, and it is only after Sanapia has magically surrounded it by enclosing it in a circle of charcoal that the feather's movement is made impossible.

Sanapia describes an extreme form of insanity as that state in which the 753
affected individual usually twitches, jerks, and "runs around crazy." Then again, 828
when describing the whirlwind guise of the ghost, she made the point that the 775
whirlwinds move around very quickly and erratically. When she describes the 825
behavior of poisons injected by certain insects and poisonous spiders, she states 827
that this poison, upon entering the body, turns into "eggs" which race wildly 201
over the body. In sign language, Sanapia indicates "sickness" by a rapid, quivering movement of the hands over the chest area. This sign for sickness is noted for the Plains area generally by Tomkins (1926:51). More examples could be listed; however, I am attempting to state several slightly different circumstances in which rapid and/or erratic motion, or some variant of this theme, was considered in a definitely negative manner when considered in the context of its relation to the human body. Thus it can be seen that the malevolent essence

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
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In Comanche society, once a woman left her father's camp she must of necessity become a wife. There was not another nook or cranny of Comanche society into which she could crowd herself. There were no avocations open to her. Prostitution and concubinage were not countenanced, and the enslavement of an unattached Comanche woman by another Comanche was completely unthinkable. (An example of the length to which a Comanche's obligation to respect the rights of other Comanches extended may be seen in the situation of the semiwild dogs that infested every camp. These dogs were not pets—they were parasites. But they could be neither killed nor mistreated. They were relatives of the coyote; and since the coyote was a relative of the Comanche, one had as well abuse another Comanche as one of these semiwild dogs.)

Provision for widows was made in this manner: if a man was killed, or if he died from disease, his wives became the wives of his brother or brothers, and his children became the children of his brother or brothers. There was also a relationship known as blood brotherhood, in which two men mingled their blood together. Such a blood brother could succeed as the husband of his deceased blood brother's wives.

During the more than five years when I was among the Comanches and was dealing with them, I became sold on polygamy as a way of life for them. They made it work. After twenty-six years of peace, there continued to be a much larger number of women than men. Though all but three of the old warrior group that I knew had more than one wife, and a number had three or more, I knew of no single man in that age group. Neither were there surplus unattached women. And women must have outnumbered men in the age group of forty-five years and over, by considerably more than two to one.

As nearly as I was able to discover, the multiple wife situation was a development rather than the result of a plan. A man did not decide he was going to have two, three, or more wives and go out and purchase the number he had decided upon. He started modestly, as a young warrior, with the purchase of one wife. Then as he prospered, gained a reputation, and accumulated a horse herd and maybe a baby or two, the work would become too heavy for one wife. Obviously they couldn't secure a hired girl, so they looked around and probably decided between them who would make a satisfactory and agreeable number two wife. When possible, a younger sister of the number

174 tremities. The arms are bent at the elbows and end in three-fingered hands. The straight legs are turned up at their extremities to form feet.

In its rudimentary simplicity the style of human figure represented by this Comanche artist resembles some of the human figures pictured on exposed rock surfaces and in caves of Texas as recorded by archeologists. A. T. Jackson has expressed the opinion that "a few of the historic paintings in West-Central Texas, and perhaps elsewhere, may have been made by the Comanches."[6] The styles of human and animal figures appearing on these three shields are essentially as primitive as are the paintings on rock surfaces and evidence no influence from the white man's artistic traditions.

Black and yellow are the colors most prominently used in these shield paintings. In 1837 Noah Smithwick observed that the Comanche regarded a yellow substance, resembling ochre, as having "power to turn aside any missile which might be directed against a body on which it had been rubbed."[7] The shield paintings were essentially protective designs.

Comanche Quivers Figures 24–25

Two Comanche quivers in the Berlandier collection are pictured in Figures 24 and 25. The first (Figure 24) is of horsehide, 69 cm. long, and decorated with a cut fringe at the back, as well as at the ends of the 5.5 cm. wide rawhide shoulder strap. The second quiver is longer (75 cm.), of horse or deerhide, with a rear extension of buffalo hide, hair inside, about 9 cm. in length. Its rawhide shoulder sling is but 3 cm. wide. Each quiver is fitted with bent wooden spacers which prevent the case from twisting or bending out of shape. Unlike the Comanche specimen illustrated by Bollaert (Figure 18, top center), these quivers are not combined with bow cases. Nor are they made of white wolf hide, which Berlandier learned the Comanche preferred for protecting their weapons because of the strong supernatual powers they attributed to the white wolf.[8]

Comanche Powder Horn Figure 26

Powder horns pictured by Lino Sánchez y Tapia as carried by Lipan, Comanche, Tonkawa, Tawehash, Kickapoo, Koasati, and Karankawa Indians are a dark color, suggesting that they were of buffalo horn.[9] A Comanche powder horn from the Berlandier collection (Figure 26), however, is of domesticated cattle, large numbers of which had reverted to the wild state in Texas before the 1830s. This piece measures 8 cm. in diameter at the base and 2 cm. at the tip. A wooden plug, painted red, has been inserted in the base. Presumably a smaller wooden plug was placed in the tip end to prevent powder from falling out. The horn is decorated

6. Jackson, 1938, p. 463. The same source illustrates a wide variety of conventionalized human figures occurring in pictographs at Texas sites (plates CCLII–CCLXIX), as well as the representation of a buffalo horn headdress painted on the shield of Comanche Jack, which was used by him in raids into Texas prior to 1880 (plate CCXLIII).

7. Smithwick, 1900, p. 191.

8. Berlandier, 1841, p. 180.

9. See Plates 1–6, 11, 14, and 15.